

## Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EB-07 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 /029 R

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 049688 TOSEC 060035

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GH, US

SUBJECT: YOUR MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR SHIRLEY TEMPLE  
BLACK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 3 - 3:30 PM  
BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

SETTING

AMBASSADOR BLACK WILL CALL ON YOU PRIOR TO HER RETURN  
TO GHANA. SHE HAS SPENT TWO WEEKS IN THE US ON A  
PRIVATE VISIT. AMBASSADOR BLACK HAS SERVED AS AMBASSADOR  
TO GHANA SINCE DECEMBER 1974. THE REACTION TO HER  
PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN UNIFORMLY FAVORABLE, AND SHE IS  
THE SUBJECT OF A LAUDATORY ARTICLE IN THE MARCH ISSUE  
OF EBONY. YOU WILL RECALL THAT YOU LAST MET WITH  
AMBASSADOR BLACK ON OCTOBER 28. SHE WILL BE ACCOMPANIED  
BY THOMAS W.M. SMITH, DIRECTOR FOR WEST AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

BACKGROUND

GHANA HAS A PROUD TRADITION OF CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENT AND  
ARMED RESISTENCE TO IMPERIAL RULE. UNFORTUNATELY,  
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SINCE INDEPENDENCE IN 1957 GHANA HAS BEEN A PROMISE

UNFULFILLED. MISMANAGEMENT, AND CRITICAL DEPENDENCE ON

REVENUE FROM A SINGLE CROP, COCOA, HAVE RESTRAINED THE REAL GROWTH OF PER CAPITA INCOME, WHICH HAS REMAINED CONSTANT AT JUST OVER \$300 FOR SEVERAL YEARS.

THE CURRENT MILITARY JUNTA IS COMPOSED OF FIELD GRADE OFFICERS, AND CAME TO POWER FOLLOWING THE OVERTHROW OF A CIVILIAN REGIME ON JANUARY 13, 1972. THIS JUNTA WAS RECENTLY REORGANIZED IN AN ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE MANAGEMENT EFFICIENCY, GIVE THE MILITARY A GREATER SAY IN POLICY MAKING, AND MAKE THE HEAD OF STATE, COL. ACHEAMPONG, LESS VULNERABLE TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A COUP FROM WITHIN THE MILITARY. THE GOVERNMENT'S SURVIVAL IS BASED ON ITS MONOPOLY OF FORCE AND THE APATHY OF A POPULACE SUBJECT TO FOUR REGIMES IN THE 19 YEARS SINCE INDEPENDENCE. THERE IS NO ORGANIZED OPPOSITION TO THE PRESENT REGIME.

CHRONIC FOREIGN EXCHANGE SHORTAGES DISCOURAGE PRIVATE FOREIGN CAPITAL INFLOWS. HOWEVER, KAISER CONSTRUCTED A HUGE ALUMINUM SMELTER IN THE SIXTIES AND IS PRESENTLY EXPANDING THAT FACILITY. KAISER ALSO PLANS SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL INVESTMENTS IN AGRICULTURE. TOTAL US PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN GHANA AMOUNTS TO APPROXIMATELY \$200 MILLION, LARGELY IN SMELTING AND RUBBER PRODUCTION.

USG LOANS AND OTHER FORMS OF AID SINCE 1957 HAVE AMOUNTED TO OVER \$300 MILLION, PRIMARILY FOR FOOD, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND THE FINANCING OF THE GIANT VOLTA RIVER DAM - WHICH PROVIDES THE POWER FOR KAISER'S SMELTER. GHANA PLANS TO CONSTRUCT A \$250 MILLION DAM TO ASSIST ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND OBTAIN THE NEED FOR INCREASED PETROLEUM IMPORTS.

US-GHANA RELATIONS ARE BASICALLY SOUND. THE GOVERNMENT IS NATIONALISTIC, NONALIGNED, AND FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARD "THIRD WORLD" VIEWPOINTS. OUR GENERALLY SATISFACTORY BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE SOMETIMES STRAINED BY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND DIFFERING POSITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS.

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ISSUES/TALKING POINTS

1. YOUR TRIP TO AFRICA

AS SHE STATED DURING YOUR OCTOBER 28 MEETING, AMBASSADOR BLACK STRONGLY FEELS THAT YOU SHOULD VISIT GHANA ON YOUR PROPOSED AFRICAN TRIP. GHANA'S MINISTRY OF FOREIGN

AFFAIRS HAS INFORMALLY RAISED THIS SUBJECT WITH THE  
AMBASSADOR AND URGED GHANA'S INCLUSION ON YOUR ITINERARY.

;

AF HAS NOT INCLUDED GHANA ON YOUR PROPOSED ITINERARY,  
AS WE BELIEVE YOUR LIMITED TIME WOULD BE BETTER SPENT  
IN OTHER CAPITALS.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- NEITHER THE TIMING NOR THE ITINERARY FOR MY TRIP HAS  
BEEN FINALIZED. AS YOU CAN UNDERSTAND, I MUST DIVIDE  
THE VERY LIMITED TIME I HAVE IN AFRICA AMONG A FEW  
REPRESENTATIVE STATES. I DO NOT, AT THE MOMENT, BELIEVE  
I SHALL BE ABLE TO VISIT GHANA.

## 2. SOUTHERN AFRICA

GHANA RECOGNIZED THE MPLA ON DECEMBER 23, CITING SOUTH  
AFRICAN INTERVENTION AS A MAJOR FACTOR IN ITS DECISION.  
GHANA'S GOVERNMENT HAS PLEDGED ITSELF TO WORK FOR THE  
REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA AND THE  
INTEGRATION OF ALL FACTIONS INTO A FUTURE ANGOLAN  
GOVERNMENT. GHANA IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS  
IN NAMIBIA, RHODESIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA, AND AMBASSADOR  
BLACK WISHES TO GIVE YOU HER IMPRESSIONS AND ELICIT  
YOUR VIEWS ON US POLICY TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- WE ARE NOT OPPOSED TO THE MPLA AS A MOVEMENT.  
HOWEVER, THE INTERESTS, PERCEPTIONS, AND SECURITY OF  
ZAIRE AND ZAMBIA PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN OUR POLICY  
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TOWARD ANGOLA.

-- WE VIEW SOVIET AND CUBAN INTERVENTION IN SOUTHERN  
AFRICA AS A VERY SERIOUS THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL  
STABILITY, AND WE ARE WATCHING DEVELOPMENTS ON THIS  
SCORE VERY CLOSELY.

-- WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE IN  
NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA UNLESS CURRENT EFFORTS TOWARD  
SELF-DETERMINATION ARE SUCCESSFUL. WE ARE CONSIDERING  
WAYS IN WHICH WE MIGHT ASSIST THESE EFFORTS.

## 3. COCOA

GHANA IS THE SINGLE LARGEST PRODUCER OF COCOA AND EARNS

65 PERCENT OF ITS EXPORT REVENUE FROM COCOA SALES. GHANAIAAN LEADERS HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED SHARP DISAPPOINTMENT OVER THE FAILURE OF THE US TO SIGN THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL COCOA AGREEMENT, AS WE ARE NOT ONLY THE LARGEST CONSUMER BUT ALSO THE SINGLE SIGNIFICANT

COCOA IMPORTING NATION WHICH DID NOT SIGN THE AGREEMENT AND JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL COCOA ORGANIZATION. THE US DELEGATION ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN THE RECENT NEGOTIATIONS FOR A SECOND COCOA AGREEMENT, BUT ON JANUARY 16 WE ANNOUNCED THAT WE DO NOT PROPOSE TO SIGN THE NEW AGREEMENT. THE USG BELIEVES THE NEW AGREEMENT CONTAINS INSUFFICIENT PROTECTION FOR CONSUMERS, AND ITS PRICE PROVISIONS ARE TOO RIGID.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- WE HAVE ANNOUNCED OUR WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN

ANY RENEGOTIATIONS FOR A NEW COCOA AGREEMENT.

-- THE US PROPOSALS MADE AT THE LAST GENEVA CONFERENCE WOULD FORM THE BASIS FOR NEW NEGOTIATIONS. THESE PROPOSALS WERE DESIGNED TO MAKE A NEW AGREEMENT MORE FLEXIBLE AND WORKABLE THROUGH A SIMPLE BUFFER STOCK ARRANGEMENT.

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